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# CATTERICK CHURCH,

IN THE COUNTY OF YORK.

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A CORRECT COPY

OF THE

## CONTRACT FOR ITS BUILDING,

DATED IN 1412,

ILLUSTRATED WITH REMARKS AND NOTES,

BY

THE REV. JAMES RAINE, M.A.,

*LIBRARIAN OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL, &c.,*

AND WITH

THIRTEEN PLATES OF VIEWS, ELEVATIONS, AND DETAILS,

BY

ANTHONY SALVIN, Esq., F.S.A., ARCHITECT.

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LONDON :

J. WEALE, HIGH STREET, BLOOMSBURY.

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MDCCCXXXIV.





TO THE MEMBERS  
OF THE  
**Yorkshire Philosophical Society,**

THIS PUBLICATION,  
REFERRING TO A COUNTY TO WHICH THEIR LABOURS ARE MORE ESPECIALLY DIRECTED,  
AND,  
TO A PLACE OF HIGH NAME AND FAME IN OUR ROMAN AND SAXON HISTORY,

IS, WITH EARNEST WISHES FOR THE PROSPERITY OF THEIR

LEARNED AND USEFUL INSTITUTION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

**By the Editors.**

*Durham, 29th January, 1834.*



## CATTERICK CHURCH.

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THE object of the present publication is to make known THE ORIGINAL CONTRACT FOR THE BUILDING OF CATTERICK CHURCH, IN YORKSHIRE, DATED IN 1412, of which we undertake to give an accurate transcript, with notes and explanations, and engravings, illustrative of it and of the fabric to which it gave rise.

Our ancient Church Architecture is again in the ascendant, proudly triumphing over all the various abominations of that dark age of English design and execution, which commenced at the dissolution of Religious Houses, and extended, with a few exceptions, to the beginning of the present century. During this long period, men not only did not build after our good old English models, but they manifested, in far too many instances, an anxiety to destroy. Too ignorant to appreciate, they affected to despise ; and too proud to feel ashamed, they gloried in their deeds of destruction. There may be still in the land those who care for no design but what they, in the folly of self-importance, determine, in spite of wiser heads, to be the best ; and there may be, men, pretenders to the name and qualifications of architects, ready to carry such degenerate plans into vile execution, but their number, we rejoice to say, is rapidly decreasing. Such has been the re-action, that public opinion has, with one or two late melancholy exceptions, we are now speaking of the North of England, compelled men to act, if not to think, aright ; and public opinion is not yet at rest. So rapidly is the study of our national architecture reviving, that he who has it in his power to bring to light such documents as that which forms the substance of the following pages, illustrating the cost of workmanship in times of old, and giving the various tech-

nical names of parts and things as they were used at their respective periods, many of which have been long forgotten because they were no longer required, will be thanked for his pains by all those genuine architects, whose slightest meed is praise.

The contract for the Church of Catterick has much to recommend it to the architect, and still more, perhaps, to those who take a pleasure in tracing the English language during its early history. In both points of view it is of peculiar interest. It was, we believe, first printed, not many years ago, in a Magazine, called the *NORTHERN STAR*, but with a wrong date and numerous mis-readings. Dr. Whitaker next noticed it in his *HISTORY OF RICHMOND-SHIRE*, that very able, but most careless and inaccurate of all his publications. He assigns it to the reign of Henry V., but he suppresses the year of reign (the thirteenth), knowing that Henry V. did not in reality sit *ten* years upon the throne. Besides, he omits numerous clauses, some of them comprising the most valuable parts of the record ; he gives to very few, indeed, of the words their ancient spelling ; he takes no notice whatever of the valuable technical terms, *Aloring*, in any one of its forms, *Tusses*, *Prismatories*, *Clerestory*, *Severonne*, or of the *Stepill*, or *Synetres*. To *Quarrell*, he gives a wrong interpretation. *Franche*, he reads *Stanche* ; *Tabill*, *Cabill* ; and he alters and modernizes at pleasure, throughout the whole of his garbled extract. So much for so mighty a mind, when under the dominion of booksellers.

Dr. Whitaker subjoins to those portions of the contract which he has printed a few judicious reflections, which it is our intention to give, either as notes to the contract, with the letter W, or incorporated with acknowledgment, in the remarks which we shall make in the sequel.

## ENDE'TUR' ECCLESIE DE CATRIK.\*

This endento<sup>r</sup> made atte Burgh the aghtende† day of the Moneth of Aprill the yere of Kenge Herry ferth‡ after the conquest of Ingland thrittende§ be twix dame Katerine of Burgh somtyme the wife of Johñ Burgh William of Burgh the sonne of the forsaide Johñ and dame Katerine of the ta ptie¶ And Richarde of Cracall mason on the tothir ptie¶ here; witnes that the forsaide Richarde takes full charge for to make the Kirke of Katrik newe als\*\* Werkemanschippe and mason crafte will and that the forsaide Richard sall fynde alle the laboreres and seruys ptenand†† to the Kirke makynge And that the forsaide Richarde sall take downe and ridde of the stane werke‡‡ of the alde Kirke of Katrik after the tymber be tane downe And he sall cary and bere alle the stane warke of the alde Kirke to the place whare the newe Kirke sall be made And also forsaide Richarde sall take the grounde and ridde the grounde whare the newe Kirke sall be made And the forsaide Richarde sall gette or garre gette att the quarell§§ atte his awen coste alle the stuffe of the

\* "Instruments of this nature are so extremely rare, that when they occur it would be unjust to refuse to them a very minute and respectful attention. The English language, which is also very uncommon in transactions of this period, was obviously adopted in this instance in favour of one of the parties who understood no other than his mother tongue. The dialect differs little from that of Richmondshire at present, excepting that *whilke*, and perhaps one or two others, have in four centuries retreated to the Lowlands of Scotland."—W.

† Eighteenth.

‡ *Fourth*. Whitaker reads *feft*, and is obliged in consequence to suppress the year of reign. Henry the Fifth, he knew, reigned only ten years.

§ Thirteenth.

¶ Of the one part. "It is remarkable that neither the parishioners at large, nor the churchwardens, as their legal representatives, are ever mentioned in this transaction, so that the entire restoration of the church must be considered as an act of bounty to the parish on the part of Dame Katharine Burgh and William her son. It is still more remarkable that the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary's, York, to whom, as appropriators of the Rectory, the choir of the parish church belonged of common right, should not have been made parties to a contract for rebuilding it. But this difference may be removed by supposing that the Burghs might be lessees of the great Tithes, and burdened, as is not unusual, with the repairs of the choir as part of the consideration."—W. We give hereafter a pedigree of the family of Burgh of Burgh or Brough, now represented in blood and estate by Sir Henry Lawson, Bart.

¶ The other party.

\*\* As.

†† Service pertaining.

‡‡ Remove the stone work. "It is obvious, from the terms of this indenture, that the old church stood on different ground from the present, but in the same church-yard."—W. The site of the old church may be distinctly traced on the north side of the present fabric. Some of its foundations were not long ago discovered and laid bare. Still further north, and without the church-yard, is a large sepulchral mound of the Roman period. Here, as at Ryton, the Christian church was built near a heathen burial ground, and for good reasons. Catterick, under its antient name of Cataractonium, was a place of great importance during the dominion of the Romans. We must content ourselves with referring to Dr. Whitaker for numerous most interesting historical facts relative to the antient history of this celebrated station and city in Roman and Saxon times.

§§ Shall get or cause to be got at the quarry. Dr. Whitaker prints this clause very incorrectly, and explains quarell by *squared stones*, when, in reality, it means the *quarry* from which they were obtained.

stane that misters\* more for the makynge of the Kirke of Katrik than that stuffe that is founet with in the Kirke yerde beforsaide And also the forsaide Richarde byndes hym be this endento<sup>r</sup> that he sall make the Kirke and the quere of Katrik newe als werkemanschippe and mason craft will that is to say the quere sall be of lenth within with the thiknes of bath walles fifti fote And it sall of breede w<sup>in</sup> that is to say within the walles twa and twenty fote And the forsaide Richarde sall make a wyndowe in the gauitt† of fife lightes accordaunt to the hight of the kirke couenably§ made be werkemanschippe and mason crafte And he sall make upon the cornere of the southe side of the same windowe a franche botras|| rising vnto the tabitt y<sup>t</sup> sall bere the aloring¶ And he sall make a wyndowe of twa lightes atte the awterende\*\* couenably made be werkemanschippe and mason crafte and a botras risyng vnto the tabill als it is before saide And he saff make

\* Is wanted. To the word *mister*, evidently a term peculiar to the north, Whitaker here gives its right interpretation, and yet upon another occasion, when he had met with the same term in the FELON SOWE OF MORTHAM, "And fight full manly for his life—what time as mister were," not discovering its meaning, he printed *musters* in its stead. A while afterwards, when Sir Walter Scott in his *ROBEY* pointed out the true import of the term, Whitaker refused to adopt it, and in the very same book in which he allows to it its correct meaning, in the contract before us, comments rather severely upon Scott's suggestion.—V. RICHMONDSHIRE I. 181. We ourselves have frequently met with this word in records relative to places in the north of England, and always in the above sense. We give a single instance from a lease dated 15th Dec., 1480. Reg. III. parv. D. & C. D. *ad fin.* "With free entre to the same (mill) throught the grund of the said Thomas as oft and when it shall *myster*."

† Found.

‡ Gable.

§ Proportionally.

|| The buttress here contracted for is of the description generally called diagonal—in other words, it faces the very corner of that part of the building with which it comes in contact, instead of flanking its sides. It is perhaps called "*franche*," from its free salient character, or perhaps from being of French invention. Whitaker for *franche* prints *stanche*, and for *tabill*, which occurs immediately afterwards, he prints *cabill*.

¶ This word occurs not fewer than six times in the document before us, and in almost each instance its spelling varies according to the unsettled orthography of the time. *Aloring*—*ualuryng*—*alourde*—*alurde*—*aloryngs*—are all, however, designative of the same part of the fabric; and a due attention to the context of each leads to the meaning of the term in the present instance. In the first place a buttress is spoken of at the south-east corner of the choir rising into the *table* that shall bear the *aloring*. The *aloring* was, therefore, something above the table or cornice. Secondly, the choir wall was to be twenty feet in height, with a *ualuryng* above, that is to say, with a course of ashler and a course of crest. Again (3) the south aisle was to be *alourde* like the choir—the north aisle *alurde* (4) like the south aisle, and the *aloryngs* (5) and the *aloryng* (6) were, by the contract, the last parts of the building to be finished. Here, therefore, the word *aloring*, as understood by the contracting parties, must imply the parapet wall, and the best proof of this, in addition to the above specifications, is the fact that the parapet, as may be seen by an inspection of plate III. in particular, consists of a course of ashler and a course of crest, as was required. The word, however, in strictness of speech, is more properly applicable to the gutter or horizontal foot and water-path which the parapet supported and protected, than to the parapet itself. Robert of Gloucester, when describing a feat of arms, (I. 192) confirms us in our opinion. With the exception of the word which has given rise to this note, we modernize his language,—

"Upon the *alurs* of the castles the ladies then stood,

And beheld this noble game, and which Knights were good."

Du Fresne has the word *Allorium* as a path-way from the French *Allée*, a walk, or, more nearly, from *Aller* to go.

\*\* Altar end.

a wyndowe on the same side of twa lightes and a botras acordaunt thare to on the same side And the forsaide Richarde sall make then a quere dore on wheder\* side of the botras that it will best be and a windowe of twa lightes anense the deske;† And on the cornere of the northest ende of the forsaide quere he sall make a franche botras acordaunt to the hight be fore saide And the forsaide Richarde sall putte oute tusses‡ for the makynge of a Reuestery§ And he sall make a dore on the same side for a Reuestery and a botras acordaunt to the hight be forsaide And the forsaide Richarde sall sette a wyndowe of thre lightes anens the desks the whilke|| standes nowe in the olde quere on the sonthe side The hight of the walles of the quere beforesaide sall be a boue¶ the grounde twenty fote with a naluryng abowne that is to say with a course of aschelere and a course of creste And also the forsaide Richarde sall make with in the quere a hegh awter\*\* ioyrand on the wyndowe in the gauitt with thre greses†† acordaunt thare to the largest grese begynnyng atte the Reuestery dore with thre Prismatories‡‡ couenably made be mason crafte with in the same quere And the forsaide Ric sall make the body of the Kirke acordaunt of widenes betwene the pilers to the quere and the lenght of the body of the Kirke sall be of thre score fote and tenne with the thicknes of the west walle And on aither side foure arches with twa eles acordaunt to the lenght of the body And aither ele sall be made of breede§§ of ellenen fote within the walle And the forsaide Richarde sall make a windowe in the southe ele that is to say in the este ende of thre lightes acordaunt to the hight of the ele with a franche botras risand||| vnto the tabill couenably made be mason crafte And a wyndowe of twa lightes atte the awter¶¶ ende apon the southe

\* Whether.

† Opposite to the desks.

‡ This is a very expressive term. It implies the projecting stones left in the masonry, at proper distances, upwards, by which a contemplated building might in due time be attached. Teeth, and such, & those stones were in appearance, are still in the north of England not unfrequently called *tusses*, a corruption of *tusks*.

§ This word seems to have been at all times synonymous with Vestry.

|| Which.

¶ Above.

\*\* Altar.

†† Steps. "A hygh grese called a steyr."—*Itin. W. Worc*, 1480. Lat. *gradus*.

‡‡ This word is evidently a blunder of the writer. If *Presbyteries* be intended, and we suspect this to be the case, we have gained a new and appropriate term for the niches which almost every church contains within its altar rails in the south wall. At Catterick, as will be seen from plate VI., there are three, and so far our idea is confirmed. We admit that in strictness of speech, in times of old, the whole space within the altar rails was called the *presbytery*, but we see no reason why seats there, which are known to have been occupied by priests alone, should not more especially be designated by that appellation. At all events, for *prismatory* we can find no meaning.

§§ It is curious to observe in how many instances the Saxon *th* for such in many of our words is the *d* still prevails.

||| Rising.

¶¶ Altar.

side with a botras dyand\* vnder the tabil And then a wyndowe of twa lightes with a botras and a dore And also the forsaide Richarde saff make a windowe of twa lightes with a franche botras in the southewest cornere acordaunt to the botras be foresaide And he sall make a windowe of a lightet† in the west end of the same ele And the ele saff be alourde acordant to the quere with an awter and a lauatory‡ acordaunt in the este ende And also the forsaide Richarde saff take the wyndowe that standes now in the north side of the alde Kirke§ and sette it in the este side of the north ele ouer the awter with a franche botras on the cornere dyand vnder the tabill And the forsaide Richarde saff make a window of twa lightes atte the awter ende with a franche botras atte the mydwarde of the elyng¶ and a dore and a botras on the northwest cornere And also the forsaide Richarde saff make a windowe of a lighte in the west ende of the same ele and a awter in the same ele and a lauatory acordaunt thare to. the ele alurde acordaunt to the tother The heght of the walles of aither ele vnder the tabill abouen the grounde sall be made of sextene fote hight And the forsaide Richarde sall make the pilers with the arches and the clerestory|| of the hight of sax and twenty fote abouen erth vnder the tabill And also forsaide Richarde saff schote out tusses in the west ende for makyng of a stepill¶ And also forsaide Richarde sall make tablyng of the endes of the forsaide Kirke of a Katrik with seueronne\*\* tabill And also the forsaide Richarde bindes hym and his executo's and assingne; be this endento' that the Kirk of Katrik beforsaide and neunde†† sall be made sufficiantly and acordaunt to the couenaunte; beforsaide fra the fest of seint Johñ of Baptist next folowand after the makyng of thes endento's safand the aloryng¶.‡‡ vnto the same fest of seint Johñ of baptist be thre yere next folouande after that and fully fullfilled bot if sodayne were or pestilence make it the whilke may be resonabill excusaçon for the forsaide Richarde§§ And forsaide dame Katerine and William saff cari alle the stane that

\* Dying. This is here a very expressive word. The buttress was to reach the table or cornice, and then to die away in the wall, and so it does.

† A *lighte*, one light. *A*, pronounced broad, is still the Richmondshire word for *one*.

‡ Here is a new and very appropriate term for the water-niche, hitherto in modern times called the *piscina*, a word of which now we hope to hear no more.

§ This word, which approaches much nearer to the original appellation, than the modern term *church*, still lingers in the hilly districts of the North Riding.

|| The existence of this word in the beginning of the fifteenth century, as applicable to that part of a church which it at present designates, is here satisfactorily proved. William of Worcester, in his architectural tour in 1480, never once uses it, but in its stead, he uses a term, beyond measure, illustrative of the true meaning of the word. He speaks of the *over story*, and such is the clear story, the upper stage of the nave, clear and detached from the aisles.

¶ And yet Dr. Whitaker tells us that the tower is not even mentioned.

\*\* Projecting or tabling over the wall. Fr., *severonde*, the eaves of a house.

†† Named. This word occurs in Robert of Brunne and Robert of Gloucester's chronicles.

‡‡ Saving the alorings or parapets.

§§ Except that sudden war or pestilence should make or bring about what may be a reasonable excuse.



misters ouer the stuffe more then is fou\* in the alde Kirke and in the Kirke yerde atte hare awen coste And also the forsaide dame Katherine and William saff finde lyme and sande and water and scaffaldyng and Synetrest† be houely‡ to the same Kirke atte thaire awen coste And when the Kirke of Katrik beforsaide is fully made and endid the forsaide dame Katherine and William sall hafe alle the scaffaldyng and Synetres vnto thaire owen vse And the forsaide dame Katherine and William bindes thame be thes endento's their executoures and assignes for to pay vnto the forsaide Richarde and his assignes for the makyng of the forsaide Kirke of Katrik newe als it is rehersed and beforaide within terme of thre yere eght score of markes And if the Kirke be endid atte the terme before neuende the forsaide dame Katherine and William saff gif vnto the forsaide Richarde tenne markes of mone and a gowne of William wering§ to his reward And also the forsaide Richarde byndes hym bi this endentoures that the quere of the Kirke of Katrik saff be made newe fra the ffeeste of seynt Johñ of baptist next folowande after the makyng of thes endentoures vnto the same ffeeste of seynt Johñ of baptist next folowand als be a yere|| And also the forsaide Richarde byndes hym be thes endento's that he saff make the aloryng of the Kirke of Katrik newe be mysoner next folowand after the ffeest of seynt John of baptist before neuend that the forsaide Kirk of Katrik saff be fully made and endid and that alle thes couenauntes beforaide; and neuende saff wele and trewly be fullfyld and done that forsaide Richarde falles for to do¶ be any mason crafte or any other thyng be for\*\* neuende the forsaide Richarde byndes hym his heires and his executoures vnto the forsaide dame Katherine and William thaire heires and thaire executoures in fourty poundes of gude and lawfull mone of Ingland And that all the couenaunte; beforaide and neuende saff wele and trewly be done and fullfilde of the forsaide dame Kateryn and William be halfe that tham falles forto do†† the forsaide dame Katherine and

Those were times to require such a clause. Yorkshire had been in open rebellion only a few years before the date of the contract, and Scotland was at no great distance. Modern contractors content themselves with a protecting clause against tempests and storms.

\* Found.

† Centres.

‡ Requisite.

§ The 's is affixed to the wrong word. By a gown of William's wearing, is meant a gown or upper garment cast off by William the contractor, and given to the mason into the bargain. This gown was, we dare say, duly seen in Bedale Church for many a long year afterwards. A robe or garment was a very general consideration in times of old in addition to a money payment, and was not confined to masons alone. We refer, for much curious information on this subject, and more especially for the particulars of some contracts for building in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in which the gown is always mentioned, to a Brief Account of Durham Cathedral, published in 1833.

|| Which shall be a year.

¶ That fall to the aforesaid Richard to do.

\*\* Before.

†† On behalf of what it falls to them to do.

William byndys\* thame theire heires theire executoures vnto the forsaide Richarde in fourty pounde3 of mone be thes endentonres Writyn atte Burgh the day and the yere beforesaide†

*In dorso.*

- i. Johñ Burgh w<sup>th</sup>in namyd ly<sup>th</sup> burij<sup>d</sup> w<sup>th</sup>in the chappel or porche of ow<sup>r</sup> ladye w<sup>th</sup>in the sayd Kyrke of Catrik whiche Johñ burghe dyyd the tenth day of Januarij A° ðni M° iiij.<sup>e</sup> xij<sup>o</sup>. the xij<sup>th</sup> yere of the Rayng off Kyng henri the forth.
- ij. Wyll<sup>a</sup>m Soñ ⁊ heyer vnto the sayd John lyyth burij<sup>d</sup> in the forsayd porche ⁊ Kyrke of Catrik whiche Wyll<sup>a</sup>m deceacyd the fflowrth day of nouember A° ðni M° iiij.<sup>e</sup> xlij<sup>o</sup> the xxxij<sup>th</sup> yere of the Rayng of Kyng henri the syxst.
- iiij. Wyll<sup>a</sup>m Son vn to the sayyd Wyll<sup>a</sup>m ⁊ also his heyer lyyth buryyd in the sayd Kyrk ⁊ porche of ow<sup>r</sup> ladye ⁊ w<sup>th</sup>in the same tombe w<sup>th</sup> his father ⁊ dyyd the last day of decēbr A° ðni M° iiij.<sup>e</sup> lxij. A° R.R. edwardi iiij<sup>th</sup>. ij<sup>o</sup>.
- iiij. Wyll<sup>a</sup>m Soñ ⁊ heyer vn to the second Wyll<sup>a</sup>m lyythe also buryyd in the sayd Kyrke of Catrik in a chappel or porche dedicat vn to Saynt Jamis ⁊ dyyd the xvij day of awgust A° ðni M° iiij.<sup>e</sup> iiij<sup>xx</sup>. xij. the vij<sup>th</sup> yer of y<sup>e</sup> Rayng of Kyng H. the vij<sup>th</sup>.
- v. Wyll<sup>a</sup>m Son vn to the last before namyd Wyll<sup>a</sup>m ⁊ allso his heyer lyyth burij<sup>d</sup> in the said porche of Saynt Jamis in the sayd Kyrk of Catryk who did decease the xij<sup>th</sup> day of apreff A° ðni M. v<sup>c</sup>. viij<sup>o</sup>. A° R. R. H. vij. xxij<sup>o</sup>.†

\* Binds.

† It is interesting to observe with what care this valuable document was preserved and cherished by a pious family. For a long period they made it in fact serve one of the purposes to which the blank pages of a family Bible have in more modern days been devoted; and carefully recorded upon its *back* the deaths of the heads of their house, and their place of burial, until the days of parish registers and heraldic visitations. From that period it slept securely in the charter chest of the family, until it was again brought to light by Sir Henry Lawson, and its importance appreciated. It has been well observed by Mr. Rickman, in a letter upon the subject, that a copy of it deserves to be in the hand of every rational antiquary, that it may explain genuine architectural terms, and guide his search for similar documents.

‡ See the family pedigree hereafter.

We subjoin a few general remarks before we come to a consideration of the Plates.

The Contract is drawn up in English, and for this Dr. Whitaker, doubtless, assigns a right reason. In fact, its present state proves it to have been duly consulted by him, for whose convenience the English language was, contrary to the custom of the period, adopted.\*

No reference is made in the Contract to any thing resembling the *working drawing* of modern times; nor has the greatest pains, taken for this purpose, been able to discover any such record relative to any other early fabric. The archives of Durham Cathedral have been carefully searched for architectural plans, but without success. A Manuscript Commentary upon the Prophet Ezekiel, belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, written apparently in the eleventh century, contains some curious pen and ink delineations, in the Norman style, of Ezekiel's temple, such as ground plans, elevations, &c., which prove the architectural skill of the commentator, and the fact that it was no unusual thing to commit to parchment illustrations of this nature. "Patternes in paper," "portraictures," "patternes in timber," are referred to in the contract for the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, in 1439; but during the earlier centuries of our national architecture, we suspect that models in wood, or drawings upon wooden tablets, were in general adopted as specifications by the contracting parties, and referred to during the progress of the work. Admitting this to have been the case, length of time,

\* The Durham Dormitory Contract dated in 1401, is in Latin, but of its general bearings the master builder would easily find an interpreter at every step in the Cloister. Cracall had no such advantages. The Durham Contract, however, contains several valuable words of a technical nature, incorporated in its substance, which it was found difficult perhaps to translate into Latin, such as—*scarciaments*—*volt*—*arche-volt*—*ailours* (used in the same sense as the *aloryngs* above)—*brettisements* *battelled*—*achiler*—*rogh wall*—"le beddyng" of each "*achiler*"—*vys*—*scaffolds*—*seyntrees*—*flekes*—*squar*—&c. Dr Whitaker notices in his same History of Richmondshire (II. 146.), another contract in English, for building a wooden mansion house at Kirklington, dated in 1484, but at this period the English language had gone far to establish itself in such transactions as these. He also alludes to a contract dated in 1421, for building Catterick Bridge, where was a Chapel for the use of travellers, of the ruins of which, now removed, an engraving may be found in Grose, but he does not inform us where this valuable record, valuable it must be, is preserved, nor of the language in which it is drawn up.

and the nature of the material, may account for the present non-existence of records, which would have been so interesting. A mutilated figure in stone, some years ago removed from a niche or housing on the Tower of Durham Cathedral, holds in its hands a Church carved in the same material, upon a small scale, and of the Norman period. This figure may either represent the Bishop who planned the work, or the mason who carried it into execution. We suspect the latter ; but in either case we have here a proof that our ancestors practised the art of modelling upon a small scale, the point for which we are contending. Again, what is still more important to our object, there is in Worcester Cathedral, according to Mr. Carter (*Ancient Architecture*, i., p. 54), in the spandril of an arch, a representation in stone, of an architect presenting the design of a building to a superior personage, who is examining it with attention. We fully agree with Mr. Carter as to the general purport of this valuable memorial, but we differ from him in his explanation ; and we believe it, besides, to contain an important fact, which he has entirely overlooked. The drawing, on tablets, is in the hands of an ecclesiastic, but instead of having just received it for his approbation from the builder who is sitting near him, we believe him, *after having designed it himself*—for we could easily prove that our early architects were, in general, ecclesiastics—to be in the act of proposing it to the builder, as the pattern to be imitated in the contemplated work. At all events, the drawing is on tablets—another proof of our general theory, that wood, or some such material, was preferred to parchment.\*

To return to Catterick. It is generally supposed, says Dr. Whitaker, “that public works of this nature were executed by companies of Freema-

\* Since the above was written, it has come to our recollection, that there is affixed to the wall over the arch between the nave and chancel of Brancepath Church, in the County of Durham, a large wooden tablet, divided into squares, each of which contains an elaborate specimen of the panneling of the decorated period. Can these have been the pattern pieces of an architect ? We are strongly inclined to answer in the affirmative. If we are right in our conjecture, here is an important fact in support of our argument. At all events, such a decoration formed no part of the necessary ornaments of Brancepath, or any other Church, at that period ; and we can only account for it upon the above supposition.

sons, who travelled from place to place for employment, furnished models, and executed them with a degree of skill far superior to that of country workmen ; but Cracall was a country mason [from Crakehall, near Bedale, as his name implies], and his work bears no marks of inferiority to the workmanship of other Parish Churches." We think it does. His work is "countified," to use the most expressive word which presents itself. We refer more especially to the niches in the choir, and the windows at the west end of the aisles ; and although the execution of the larger windows is in much better character, yet their effect is diminished by a defect in their proportions. The great east window, for instance, is too broad for its height. The same remark may be made upon some other parts of the fabric.

By the contract, Cracall was at liberty to use the materials of the old Church. That Church was doubtless of a mixed character of Norman (for we know that there was a Church here at the compilation of Domesday Book) and of early English additions at a later period. An accurate examination of the present fabric will prove that the mason did more than remove entire the window at the east end of the north aisle (not now in existence), to which the contract bound him. The porch-arch must have belonged to the old fabric. The capitals of the piers, too, appear either to have been removed from the same place, or to be rude copies of the early English capitals which were found there.

We now come to the conditions of work and remuneration. The contractor binds himself to pull down and remove the stone-work of the old Church, after the timber is taken off (the timber was reserved and bargained for, we doubt not, in a subsequent contract with a carpenter for the roof), the old stone-work is given up to his use—he quarries such new stone as is required, he digs the foundations of the new Church, and he builds it after a certain plan, entering into a bond to finish it in little more than three years. The Burghs on their part give the stone of the old Church, they lead such new

stone as is necessary, they find lime, sand, water, scaffolding, centres (the two last they reserve, after the finishing of the work, to facilitate perhaps the putting on of the roof) and they give in money 170 marks, and a gown worth about one mark more,\* amounting to £114. At that period, as we know from the Cloister Rolls at Durham, the average wages of a mason was 7d., a carpenter 5d., and a quarryman 3½d. per day. A mason now receives for one day's work the then wages for a week. So that we come at once to something like a satisfactory conclusion that Cracall's £114. is worth at least £684. of our present money. But, besides this, he had other great advantages. A full third of the stone was ready chiseled to his hands, and many of its ornamental parts were in so perfect a state as to admit of being re-used without alteration. His lime, sand, water, scaffolds, centres, and leading cost him literally nothing. We must not forget to state that the two aisles are now longer by one arch each than those which he undertook to build, and that the Vestry, the Tower, and the Porch do not enter into his contract. When all these important matters are taken into consideration, it will, we suspect, be found that Cracall was amply paid for his workmanship, however small the above sum may at present appear.

It only remains to give a brief notice of our Plates, and their application to the Contract.

THE FRONTISPIECE exhibits a south-east view of the Church. In the Church-yard, beneath the east window, is an altar tomb, bearing inscriptions, which are worthy of being recorded :—

**Weer lieth buried the bodie of David Batie, the Kinges Ma'ties first Postmaister of Cattericke, who dep'ted to the Mercie of God the vij daye of Maye, A.D'i 1610, whose soule I hope doeth rest in peace.**

Here also lyeth the Body of David Batie his sonne, who after succeeded him in his office of Postmaster, and dyed Aug. the           Anno Domino (ita) 1631, ætatis 53, being 22 years in the office.

\* The gown given annually to the master mason of Durham Cloister, which was in building at the very period of this contract, was valued at 13s. 4d.

**Plate I.** A ground plan of the Church, with admeasurements, proving how far Cracall adhered to or departed from his Contract. A. Monumental niches in the north wall, v. pl. ix., the work of a later period. B. Our Lady's Porch, which constituted the original termination of the north aisle, as it was left by Cracall, in the east end of which was placed the window removed from the old Church, but displaced when C, St. James's Porch, was built by William Burgh and Richard Swaledale\* in 1491, and endowed as a Chantry. D is a similar addition, made after the time of Cracall, but lighted by his windows; the one, of two lights, originally constituting the third window of his chancel, and the other, of three, advanced eastwards from the end of his aisle. We have now a definite notion of Cracall's plan. The tower, the south porch, the portions lettered C and D, the arches which open into them from the choir, and the vestry, are all of later date. B and C are unoccupied by pews, and are the burial places of the Burghs and Lawsons. But see Plates xi. and xii. Wooden screen work of good character has enclosed B, our Lady's Porch, on the west and south: portions of it still remain. The old stalls, removed from the former Church, still remain in the choir: they are very massy, and not much ornamented.†

**Plate II.** East elevation. Cracall's east window is in the state in which he left it. The window at the end of the south aisle is his, but it has been advanced eastwards. The porch the tower, the east end of the north aisle, and the vestry, are later work.

**Plate III.** Here, with the exception of the tower and porch, the whole is Cracall's workmanship; only, as we have above stated, his aisle has been elongated, and his chancel shortened;

\* On a brass plate in the middle aisle is the following inscription:—HERE LYETH JOHN SWALDELL, GRANDCHILDE TO RICHARD SWALDELL, WHOSE PREDECESSORS BYVLT HALFE THE SINGINGE QVYER W<sup>TH</sup>IN THIS CHVRCHE, WHO DIED THE SECONDE OF MARCHE, ANNO DOMINI 1630. "The singing Qvyer"—what an interpretation of the word *Chantry*!

† It forms no part of our plan to notice the various monuments in the Church unconnected with the families of Burgh or Lawson. The two following, however, have a particular claim upon our attention:—

A tablet, affixed to the north wall of the chancel, commemorates the author of "Drunken Barnaby," &c., Richard Braithwaite, of Burnside, in Westmorland, Esq., for particulars of whom we must content ourselves with referring to Hazlewood. Braithwaite's first wife was a Lawson, of Nesham Abbey. He married secondly Mary, daughter of Roger Crofts, of East Appleton, in this parish.

+ Juxta sitæ sunt Ricardi Brathwait, Westmorlandiæ, armigeri, et Mariæ ejus conjugis reliquiæ. Ille quarto die Maii, anno 1673, denatus est; hæc undecimo Aprilis 1681, supremum diem obiit. Horum filius unicus Strafford Brathwait eques auratus adversus Mauros Christiani nominis hostes infestissimos fortiter dimicans occubuit. Cujus cineres Tingi in Mauritaniâ Tingitanâ humanantur. Requiescant in pace. Arms—*Brathwaite*, gules, on a chevron arg. three cross croselets fitchè sable, impaling *Croft*, lozengy or and sable.—See Green's Guide to the Lakes, i., p. 138, for some curious anecdotes of Braithwaite, who was called in Westmorland "Dapper Dick."

Beneath a blue slab in the chapel D, is buried "The body of Dame Alice, daughter of Sir Hewit Osborne, sister of Sir Edward Osborne, of Kiveton, Bart. (aunt to the Most Noble Lord, Thomas, Duke of Leeds), relict of the Rt. Hon. Christopher Wandesford, Esq., of Kirklington, Lord Deputy of Ireland. She died, aged 67 years, 11 months, and 6 days, 10 Dec., 1659." For an account of a most extraordinary dream which this lady had in 1639, see Whitaker's Richm., ii., 161.

Notices of the paintings and inscriptions in the windows, when in their perfect state, may be found in Whitaker.

the two windows of the work disturbed being preserved. The clear-story\* windows are somewhat singular, in standing neither over the centre of the arches of the aisles nor their piers—an arrangement not uncommon in early English Churches ; but, then, they are of one light only, a thing very unusual in perpendicular work.

**Plate EV.** Elevation on the north, in which Cracall's work will be easily distinguished from those of a later date, the elongation of the north aisle, the insertion of a window in the clear-story, and the tower. Of the tower we need say no more, than that probably it was built soon after Cracall's time, by the same mason who seems to have elongated the south aisle and to have built the vestry. The great west window of the tower, the object of which was, in times of old, to throw the full light of declining day upon a devout congregation, is of a good perpendicular character. A window has been judiciously placed in the north aisle by the present incumbent, after Cracall's plan.

**Plate EV.** No explanation is here requisite.

**Plate VE.** The three stalls or presbyteries (we would gladly establish this word), called in the contract prismatories—a word which, as it is without meaning, is evidently a mistake. The canopies of these seats evince more strongly than any other part of the Church the humble skill of Cracall in ornamental carving ; but, perhaps, they have suffered from the injudicious chisel of a later period. Of the two lavatories one only is pierced.

**Plate VEE.** The door and doorway opening from the south porch into the aisle, both of which appear to have belonged to the old Church. The porch itself, which is of later date, contains a holy water stoup, and over its entrance are three shields in stone—*Old Richmond*, a cross flory ; *Burgh*, on a saltire five swans ; and *Aske*, three bars.

**Plate VEEE.** The monument (with details) of Sir Walter Urswick, who occurs as Chief Forester of the New Forest,† Constable of Richmond Castle in 1371, and to whom John of

\* In addition to our remarks on this word, p. 8, we have to state, that in the contract for building the Collegiate Church of Fotheringay, dated in 1434, the upper stage of the tower is called the " Clerstory," another proof of the real meaning of the word.

† An immense tract of wild uninclosed moor-land, stretching from the northern bank of the Swale, a mile or two above Richmond, by Barningham and Bowes, and Stainmore, to the Tees ; and extending westwards, through Arkengarthdale, to the boundaries of Richmondshire in that direction. Here, in days of peace, at the appointed time and place, the population of the district met to hunt the wolf, the wild boar, and the stag, in the suite of their Lord. Foxes and hares might be roused from their hiding places during the chase, but " such small deer " were unheeded by the Earl and his hounds. They followed nobler game, and fancy can picture to itself the stirring of a wolf from his cave within the old British hold beneath Applegarth rock, and the echoing of hound and horn, mingled with the mixed cries of assembled hundreds, for many a long mile, until he was fairly hunted down within the ruined briar-clad walls of Maiden Castle upon Stainmore. Ovington upon Tees, antiently Wulvyngton, evidently derives its name from the wolves, to which its woods and rocks afforded a place of security at the time of its receiving its appellation.



Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster and Earl of Richmond, 22nd November, 1367, granted an annuity of forty pounds per annum out of the Manors of Catterick and Forcet for his services at the battle of Navarre, in Spain, and in support of the Knighthood then and there conferred upon him by the donor. The battle of Navarre was fought on the 3rd April preceding, and from the fact that Urswick had previously worn silver spurs, we may presume that he was then a young man. Supposing him to have been 25 in that year, he may, according to the ordinary duration of human life, have survived the building of the aisle in which his monument is placed, and the supposition may, in consequence, not be a correct one, that his tomb was removed thither from the old Church. After all, however, the character of the effigy, with its canopy, (the elevation upon which the figure rests is extremely modern, its original and proper place being upon a level with the floor) leads us to conclude that Urswick died soon after 1371, and that his monument and bones were removed into the new fabric. The shields upon the canopy are, 1, Urswick. 2, Scroop of Masham. And 3, the former coat impaling the latter, the united bearing of the man and his wife. The ornamental details of the effigy, as far as they remain un mutilated, are rich and characteristic. There is an engraving of this monument in a Number of the Gentleman's Magazine, to which we have mislaid the reference; another, miserably executed, in Clarkson's History of Richmond, 4to., p. 62; and a front view of the figure in Dr. Whitaker's Richmondshire (ii. 42), as a vignette, professing to give details, but neglecting accuracy. The stone out of which the effigy is carved, resembles more closely the stone of Bramham Moor than that of any other quarry in the North Riding with which we are acquainted. The lavatory and image-block, in the left of the plate, point out the termination of Cracall's aisle, before the extension of which we have so often spoken.

**Plate EX.** Two monumental Ogee niches in the north aisle, marked A in the ground plan, Plate I., within the porch of our Lady designated by the letter B, which certainly from their character could not have been removed from the old Church. Beneath them probably were buried those leading members of the Burgh family, who first "gave way to fate" after the building of the Church! The funeral slabs which covered the graves of the persons whose bones they "canopy," have been removed into the middle of the aisle.

**Plate X.** The font, carved and erected not long after the date of Cracall's contract.

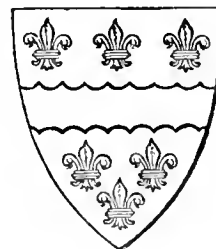
Around the upper part of the basin, upon shields, are, first, the initials W. B. (William Burgh) with the arms of Burgh, argent upon a saltire sable, five swans of the field, between them. 4. Fitzhugh of Ravenswath,\* azure, a chief and three chevronells interlaced in base, or. 5. Scroop of Masham, azure, upon a bend, or, a label of three points, argent. 6. a chief and staff ragulè in pale.† 7. Lascelles, argent, three roses gules, and 8, Neville, gules, a saltire ar-

\* There was some reason for placing the arms of Fitzhugh next after those of the giver of the basin. Henry Lord Fitzhugh of Ravenswath, by deed, dated in 1389, appointed John de Burgh, the father of William the Contractor, Steward of all the lands in Richmondshire, which he farmed of the Queen.

† We are unacquainted with this bearing. The shield of Sir Wm. Berdwell, in one of Fowler's splendid volumes of painted glass, somewhat resembles it. The above shields have been lately coloured.

gent. The shaft contains the old French words *clar fon*, *clear or bright fountain*, and upon the base are the initials of three persons, perhaps Churchwardens, whose names have been long forgotten. G. L—, W. F—, C. R—.

**Plate XI.** Monumental brasses in the north aisle, of William Burgh the Contractor, who died in 1442, and of William Burgh, his son and heir, who died in 1462. Of the four shields upon this stone, two only remain. Burgh, argent on a saltire sable, five swans of the field quartering, argent a fess, engrailed between six fleurs de lis sable—a bearing ascribed to *Richmond*. Catherine Lady Lawson was buried beneath this stone in 1824.



**Plate XII.** Monumental brasses in the same aisle of William Burgh, the founder of the Chantry of St. James, who died in 1492, and of Elizabeth his wife. The armorial bearings upon this stone have been removed.

A brass plate records John de Burgh, who died in 1412, and Catherine his wife, who was one of the Contractors with Cracall. One shield only remains upon this stone—a plain saltire, intimating a connection with Neville or Clervaux.

In addition to the above, the north aisle contains inscriptions upon mural monuments on slabs, commemorative of

Sir John Lawson, of Burgh, Bart., ob. 26 Oct., 1698, and

Lady Catherine Lawson, his wife, dau. of Sir William Howard, of Naworth Castle, Co. Cumb., Knt., ob. 4 Jul., 1668.

The heart of John, their eldest son, (who died at Calais.)

Sir Henry Lawson, of Burgh, Bart., ob. 1726, æt. 73.

Sir John Lawson, Bart., ob. 19 Oct., 1737, æt. 53.

Sir Henry Lawson, of Brough Hall, Bart., ob. 1 Oct., 1781, æt. 69, and

Dame Anastasia, his wife, third dau. of Thomas Maire, of Lartington, Esq., ob. 2 Nov., 1764, æt. 54.—(Arms, *Lawson* alone, impaling *Maire*.)

Sir John Lawson, of Brough Hall, Bart., ob. 1811, æt. 67.

Elizabeth Lady Lawson, his wife, second dau. of William Scarisbrick, of Scarisbrick, Co. Lanc., Esq., ob. 10 June, 1801, æt. 52.

Anastasia Strickland Standish, their eldest dau., wife of Thomas Strickland Standish, of Standish Hall, Co. Lanc., and of Sizerg, Co. Westm., Esq., ob. 22 June, 1807, æt. 38.

Anastasia, fourth dau. of John Wright, of Kelvedon. Co. Essex, Esq., (their grand-daughter) ob. 27 Nov., 1794, æt. 3.

Catherine Lady Lawson, second wife of Sir Henry Lawson, of Brough Hall, Bart., and sole

dau. of Henry Fermor, of Worcester, Esq., ob. 13 Sep., 1824, æt. 54.—(Arms, *Lawson* alone, impaling argent a fess sable, between three lions' heads erased gules.)\*

It grieves us to state, that this aisle has received another occupant during the passage of these pages through the press. Sir Henry Lawson, a man of very considerable literary attainments, especially attached to topographical pursuits, and of high honor and integrity, in union with great liberality and simplicity of character, was buried here on the 16th January, 1834, at the age of 84, leaving no issue behind him, nor any male relation upon whom his title can descend. He was the sixth Baronet of his family; of the early descents of which, an account may be found in NORTH DURHAM, under SCREMERSTON.

\* There are numerous hatchments hanging in the aisle. We notice one which we think must contain some departures from the laws of heraldry. Its bearings are 1, *Lawson*; 2, argent on a fess sable three bezants. Gale and Glover assigns this coat to *Burgh*, and it may be the true bearing, but, then, we have *Burgh* again in another coat in the fourth quartering. 3, gules a saltire argent, *Neville*, we know not why. 4, argent on a saltire sable, five swans proper, *Burgh*. This was certainly the bearing of the family from the beginning of the fifteenth century; how happens it that an earlier coat has been crowded into the same hatchment? (We would here briefly remark that, in this coat in the pedigree our engraver has acted upon a somewhat unusual principle: his *swans* are *geese*.) 5, sable a cross flory, or, and 6, argent a fess, engrailed between six lily flowers sable, both of them coats assigned to *Richmond*, and one of which alone could with propriety form a quartering in a funereal hatchment of the family.

Dugdale, in 1665, recognized the following as the bearing of Sir John Lawson, the first Baronet of the family:—1. *Lawson*, argent a chevron between three martlets, sable. 2. Barry of six, argent and azure, in chief 3 annulets sable, *Cramlington*. 3. Argent, three swine passant sable, *Swinhoe*. 4. Argent on a saltire sable, 5 swans of the first, *Burgh*. 5. Argent a fess engrailed between 6 lily flowers sable, *Richmond*. 6. *Lawson*.

We have been more particular than necessary, perhaps, in noticing the armorial bearings in this aisle, but we have had a particular eye to our good friend Mr Bentham and his *illuminating* propensities. May he long live in the full fruition of the most perfect topographical library in the kingdom, collected by himself, with the most persevering care, and illustrated with great judgment and pains by Mr. Douce, under his superintendence.

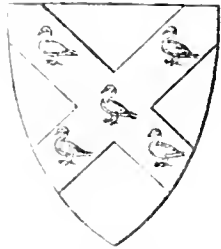
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\* \* \* We may be permitted to record here a discovery lately made near Catterick of a Saxon bracelet, of the purest gold and of the most exquisite workmanship, and to refer to the *Archæologia Æliana* for a further account of so valuable a relic.

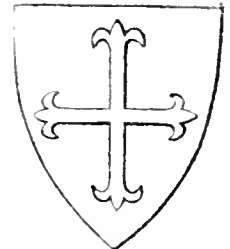
# Pedigree of Burgh of Burgh.

(From Dodsworth's MSS. Bodl. Oxon. and Hopkinson's Pedigrees.)

Arms, argent, on a saltire sable, five swans of the field.



BURGH.



RICHMOND.

Elias de Richmond, = William Burgh, =  
Richard de Richmond, = Elizabeth, daughter and heiress.  
whose issue assumed  
their maternal name.

\*John Burgh = \*CATHERINE, dau. of Roger Aske,  
ob. 10 Jan. 1412, living 1413.  
buried in our Lady's Poreh in  
Catterick Church

Thomas Burgh,  
Vicar of Catterick,  
1399.

\*WILLIAM BURGH = \*Matilda, dau. of ..... Laseelles  
ob. 4 Nov. 1442, of Sowerby, ob. 12 Nov. 1432.  
bur. in our Lady's Poreh.

Christopher Burgh = Anne, dau. of .....  
Clitberow

\*William Burgh = \*Helen, dau. of John  
ob. 31 Dec. 1462 Pickering, ob. 20  
bur. in our Lady's June, 1442 or 3  
Poreh

Beatrix  
Joanna  
Agnes

1 William Burgh\* = \*Elizab. d. of  
founder (along with Christopher  
R. Swaldale) of the Conyers of  
Chantry of St. James in Catterick Church,  
ob. 17 Aug. 1492, bur. in St. James's  
Poreh

\*Elizab. d. of Christopher  
Conyers of Hornby, sur-  
vived her husband.

2 George Burgh = ... d. of Sir  
William Hut- Conyers of  
ton (Pieton Hornby, sur-  
Hopk.) Knt. vived her  
of Calais. husband.

3 Richard = Eleanor,  
Burgh dau. of  
Henry  
Lord  
Spenser,  
guare.

4 Henry Burgh  
Catherine, married  
.....  
name  
illegible.

1 William Burgh = Cecily, dau. of  
ob. 12 Ap. 1508, Thomas Met-  
bur. in St. calfe of Nappa.  
James's Poreh.

2 Christopher = Agnes, dau. and  
Burgh coh. of ... Mar-  
ton of Marton,  
in Cleveland.

Anne, dau. and coh.  
married Henry  
Lure.

Elizabeth = Sir Thomas  
Tempest of Holmside,  
Co. Pal.

Giles Burgh = Elizab. d. of  
John Met- calfe, of the  
Stubbes.

1 Anthony Burgh, = .....  
Merehant of the  
Staple at Calais,  
made free 11 H.  
vii.

2 John Burgh.

Roger Burgh of Burgh = Elizabeth, daugh. and coh.  
by entail to the heirs of Roger Chamber of Bur-  
male. ton upon Treut, Co. Staff.

Anne Tempest = Sir Ralph  
Bulmer, Knight.

Elizabeth, dau. and  
heir. married Tho.  
Layton of Dal-  
maine, Co. Cumb.

Elizabeth, dau. and heir.  
married Sir Ralph Law-  
son, son of Edmund Law-  
son of Newcastle, gent.,  
owner of Burgh in right  
of his wife, and ancestor  
of Sir Henry Lawson of  
Burgh or Brough Hall,  
Bart., who died 9th Jan.  
1834.

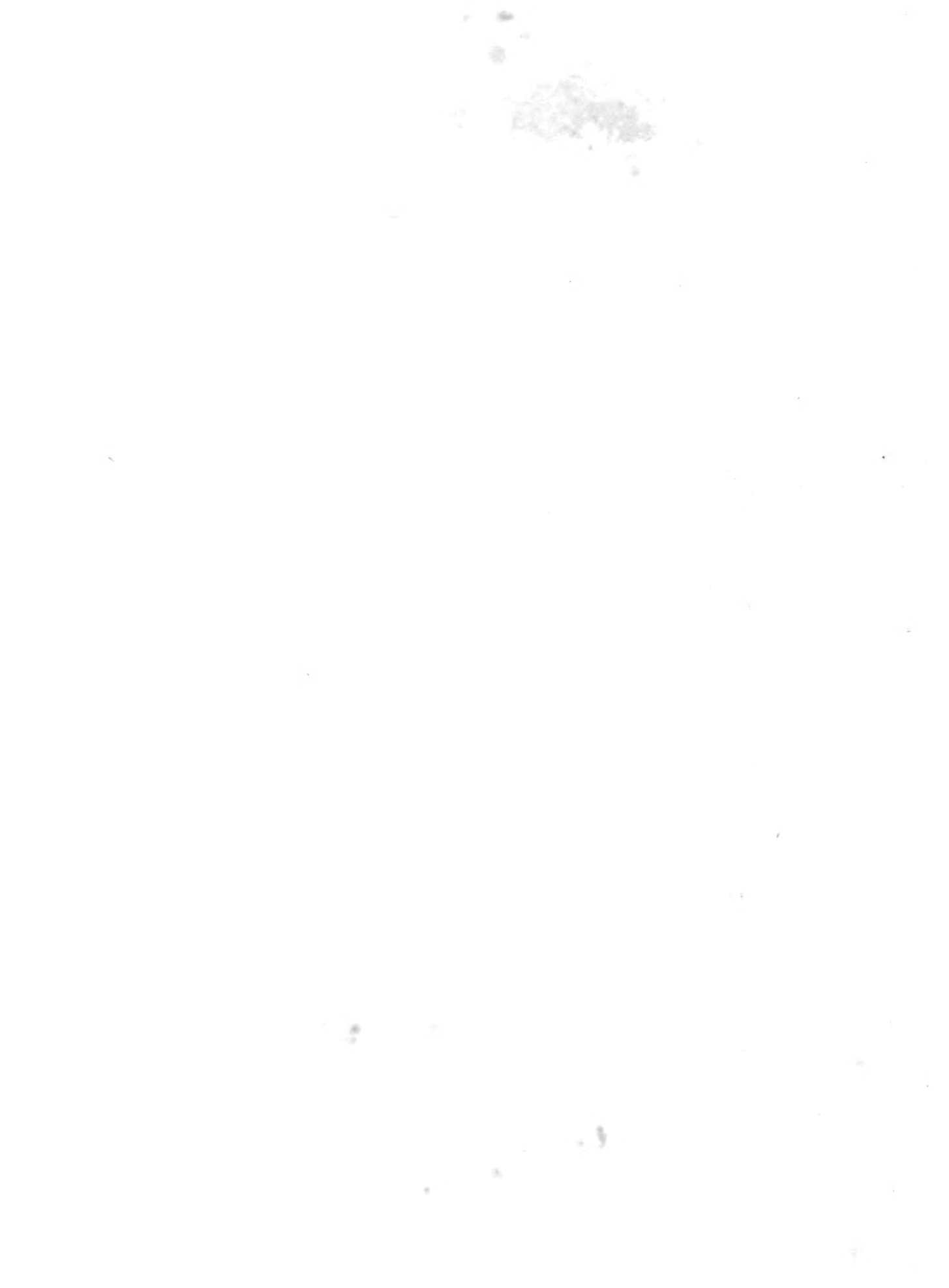
1 Anne mar. Francis,  
son and heir of Sir  
Richard Cholmeley  
of Roxby, Co. Ebor.,  
Knt.

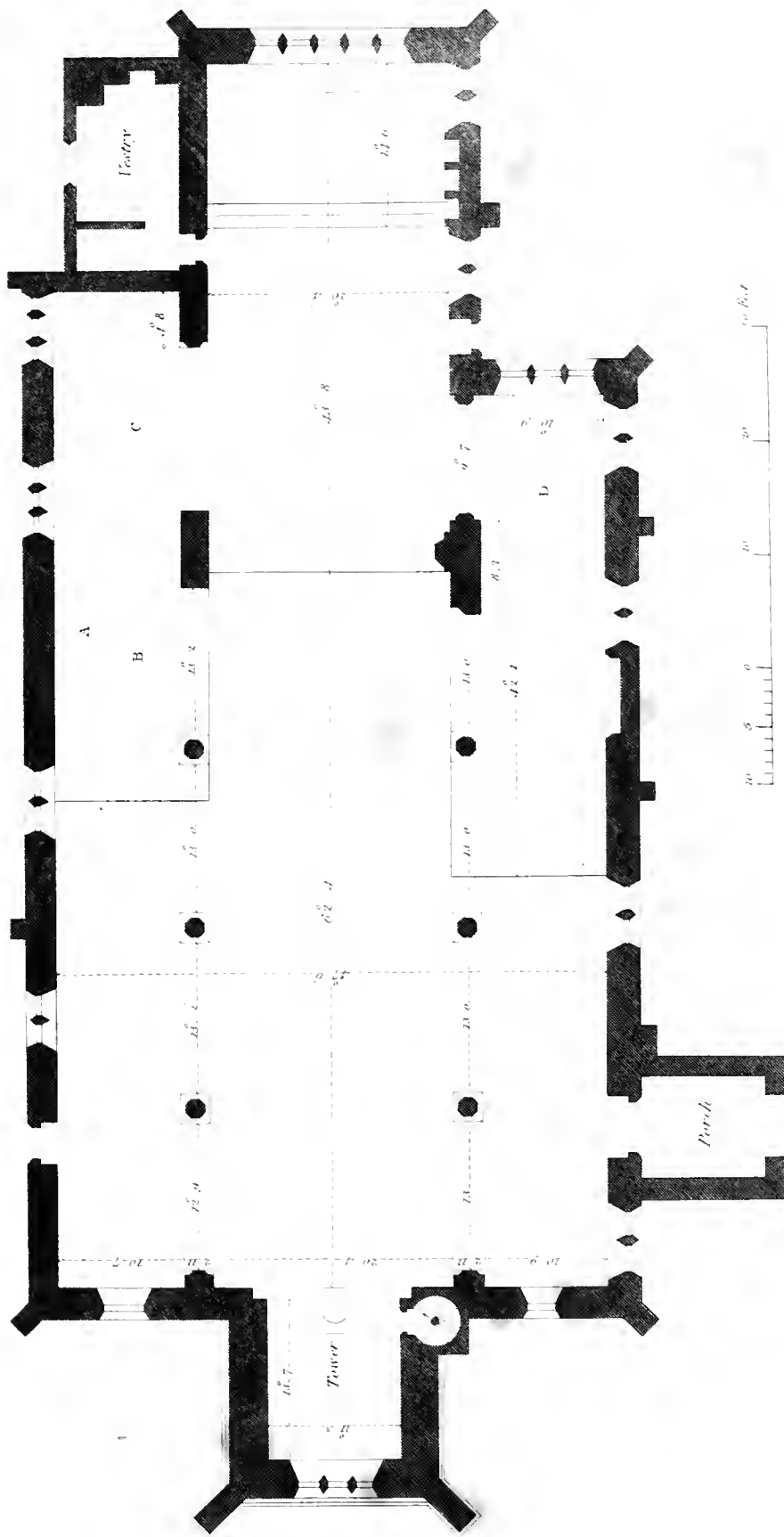
2 Francis mar.  
Marmaduke  
Constable of  
Cliffe, Co.  
Ebor.

3 Millicent  
mar. Thomas  
Grey of Bar-  
ton, Co.  
Ebor.

In the above Pedigree the names of the Contractors for the building of Catterick Church in 1412 are printed in small capitals. Those distinguished by \* are commemorated by monumental brasses in the North Aisle in the Chantry or Porches of Our Lady or St. James.



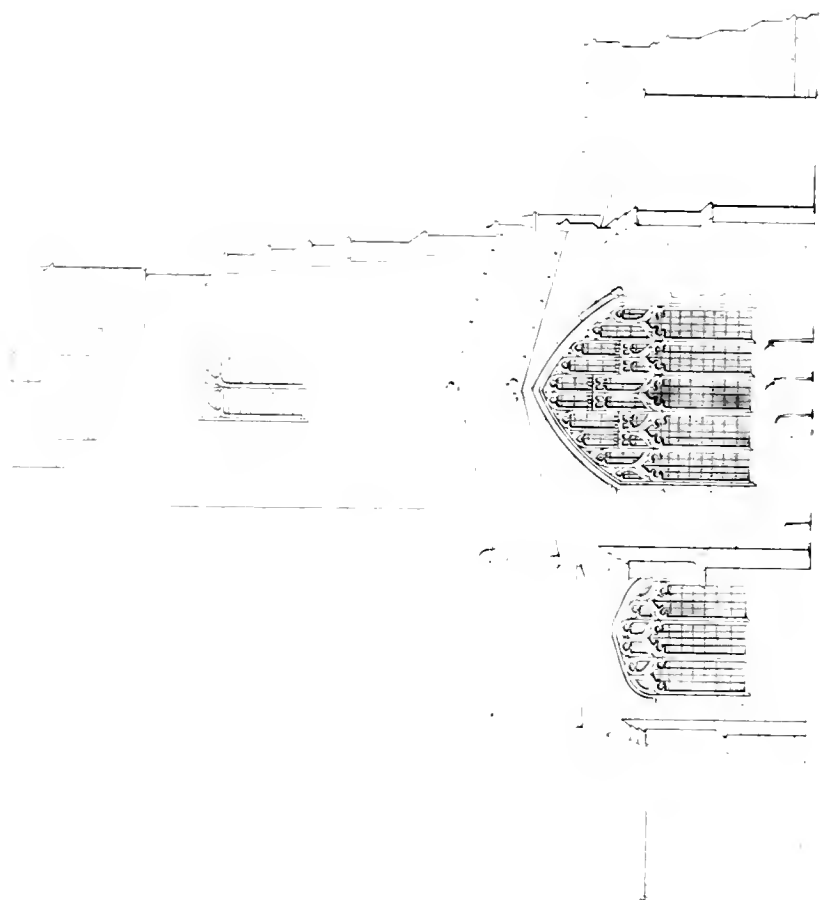




*Ground Plan*

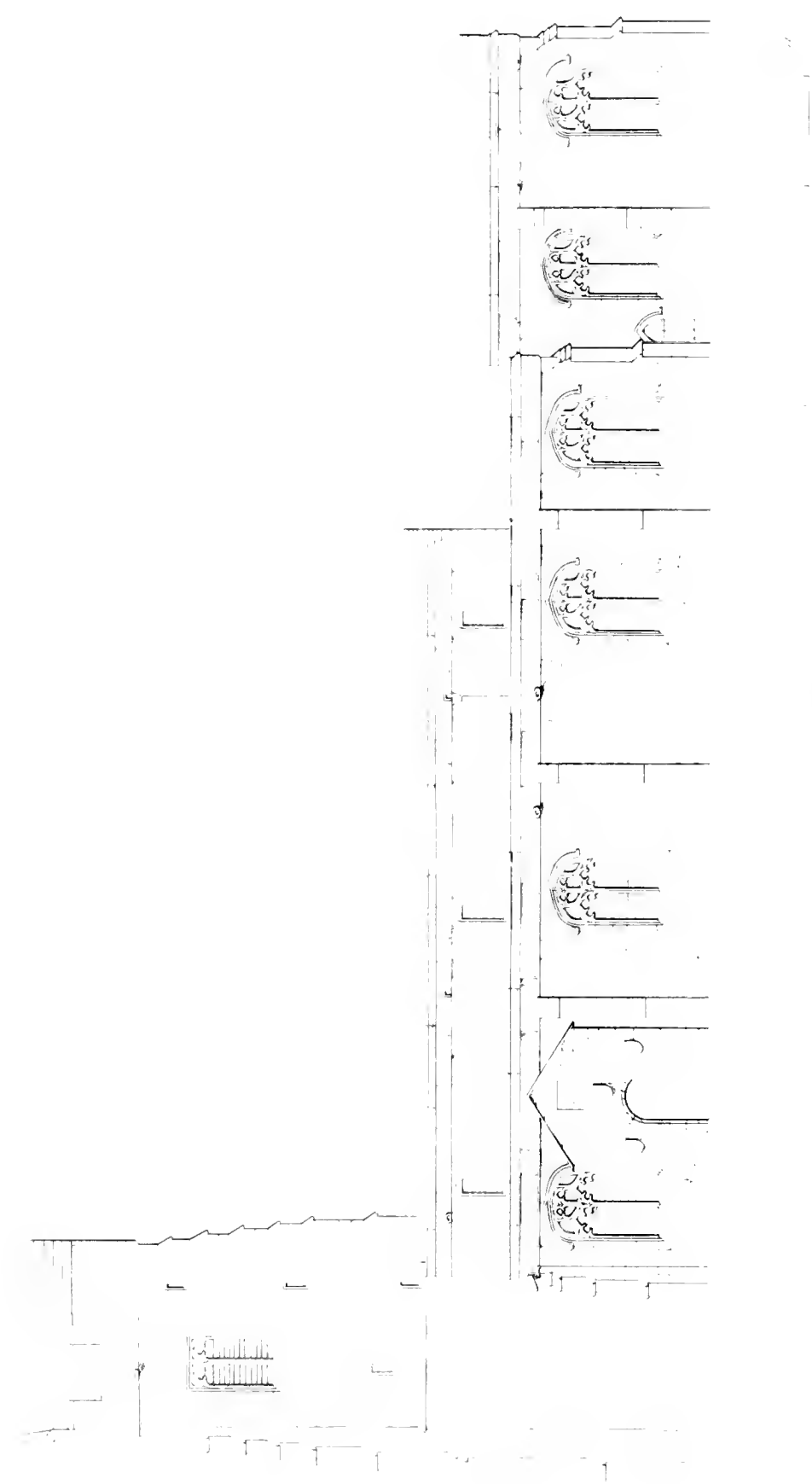




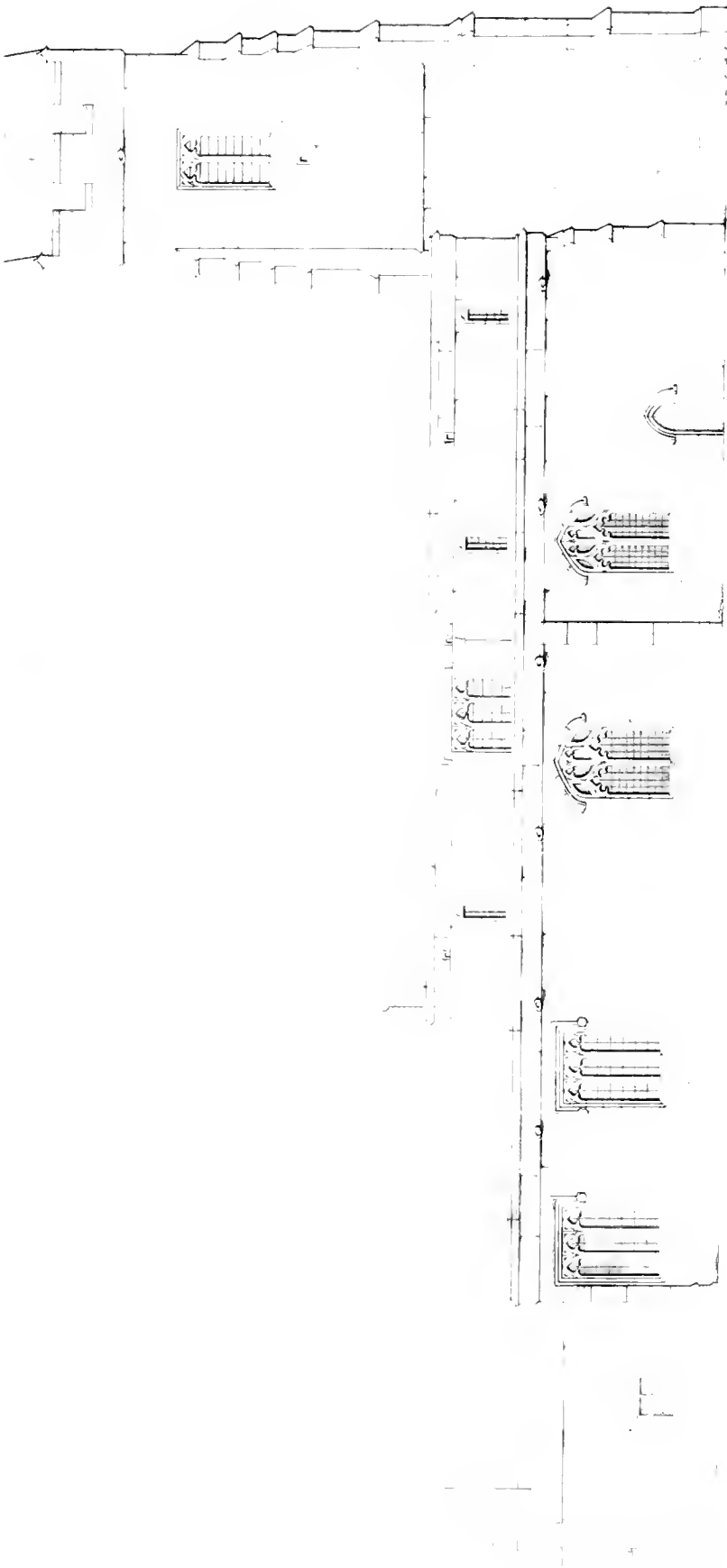




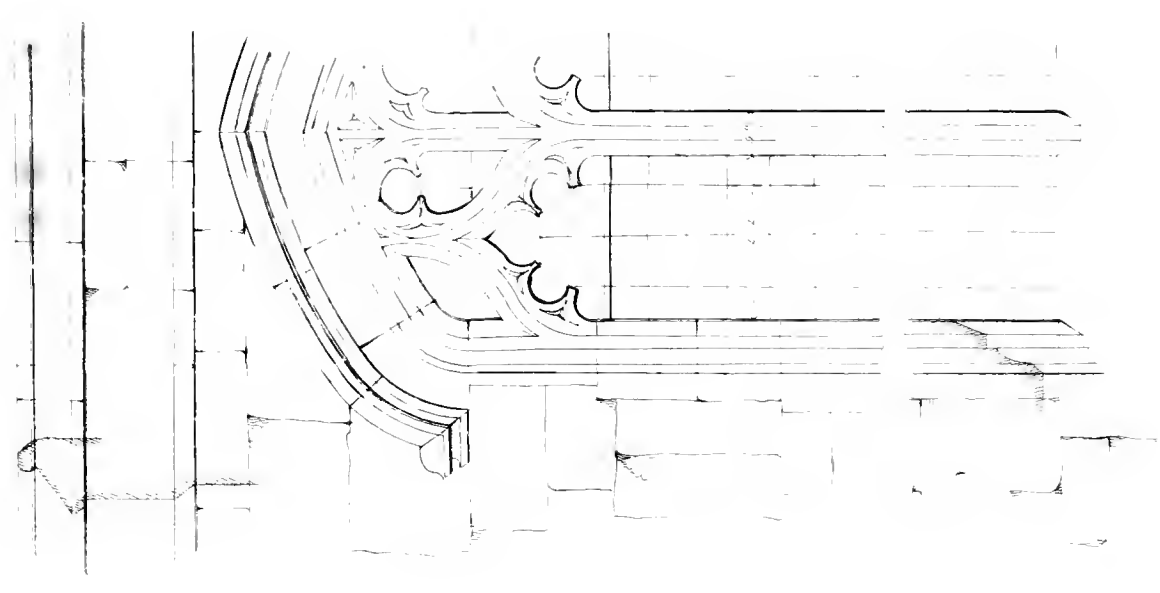
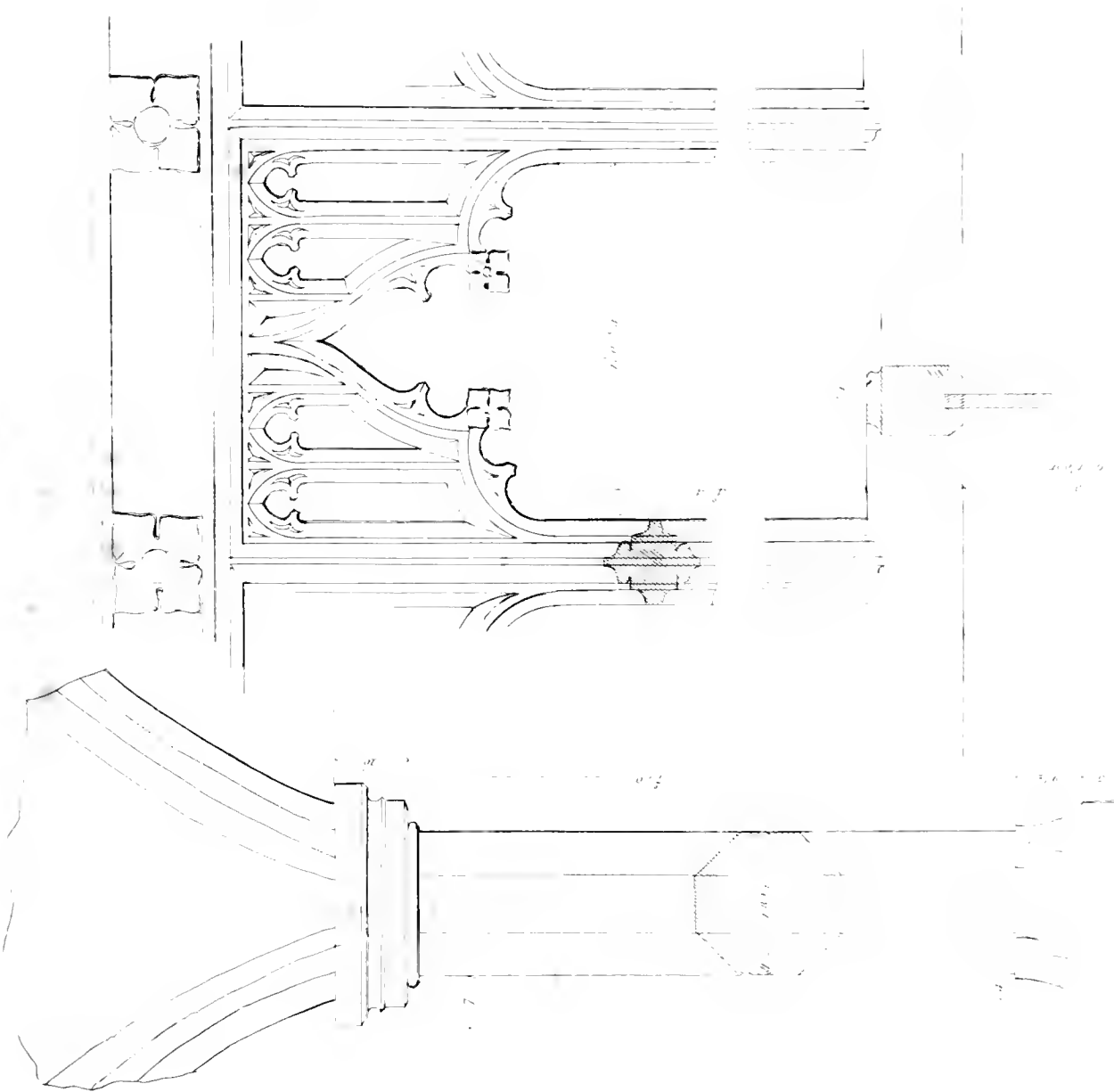
17.4







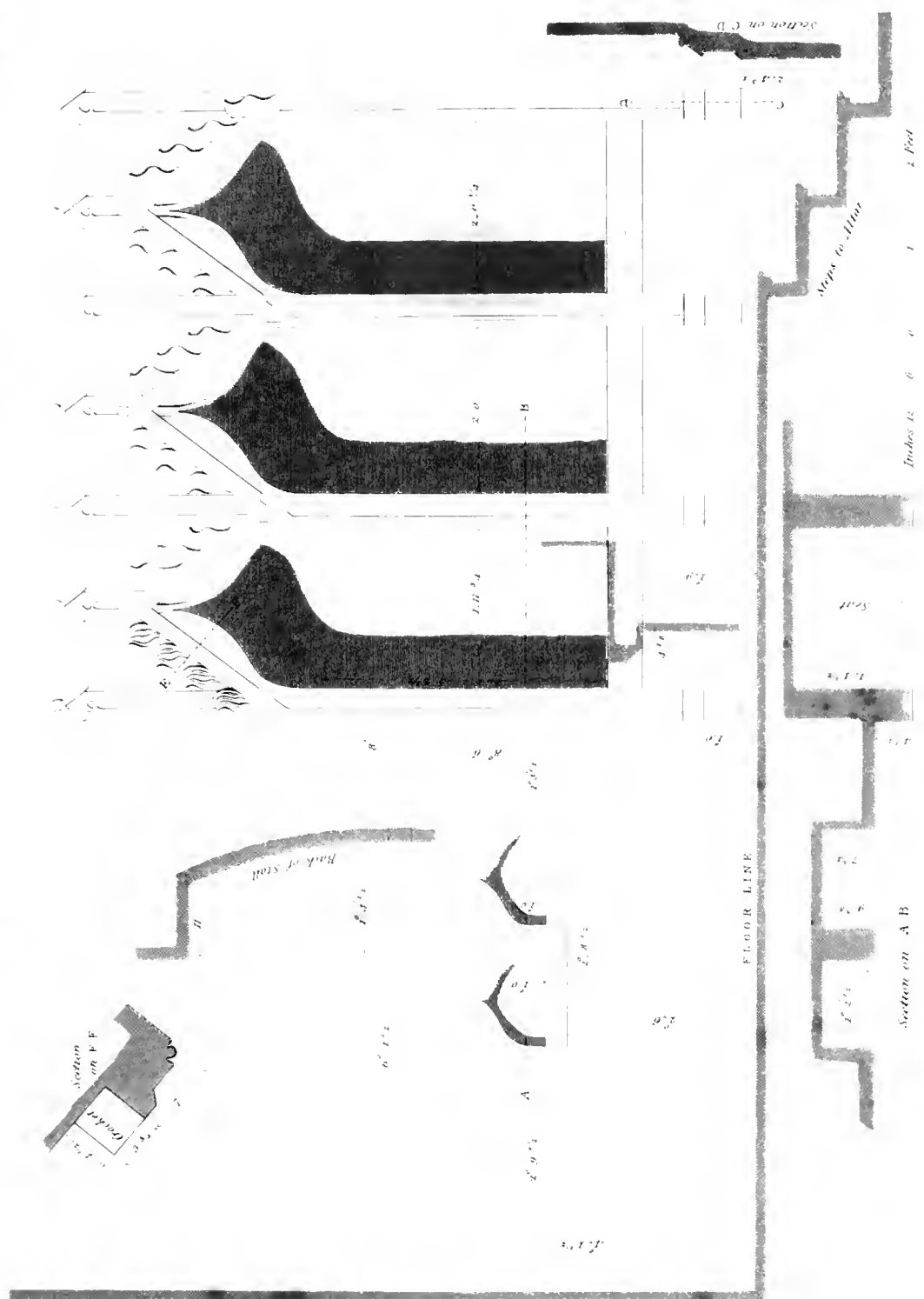




Column of the Temple of Apollo, Rome. Capital, 17th century. Height of base.



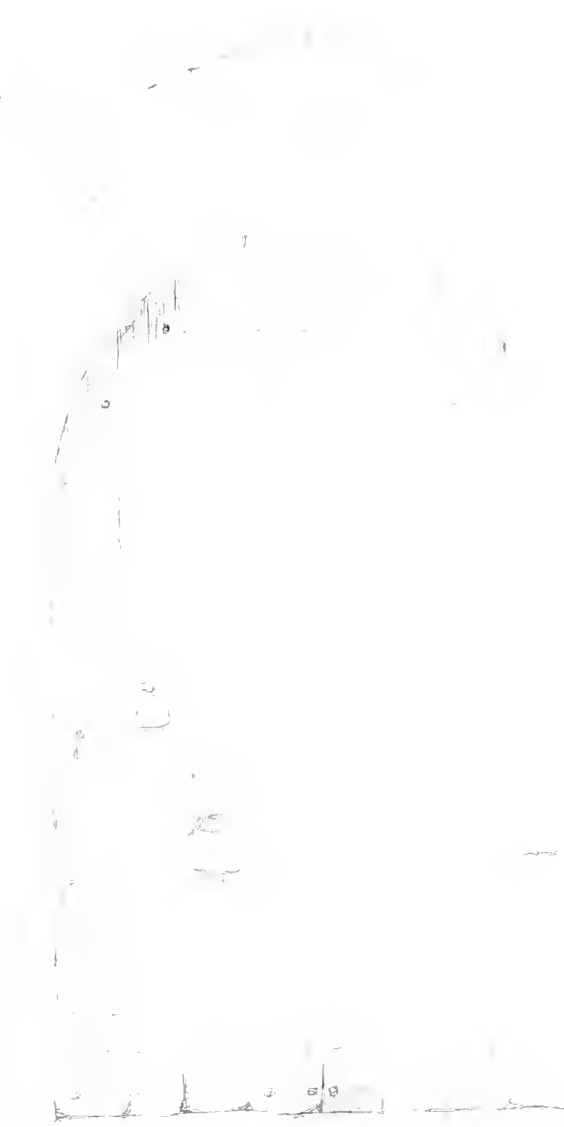




Remains in the ground.

*Thyridopteryx* *Thyridopteryx*





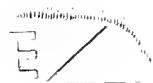
17

17

17



Section on C D



A.

B

7.2.3

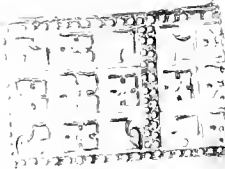
2.2.2

A

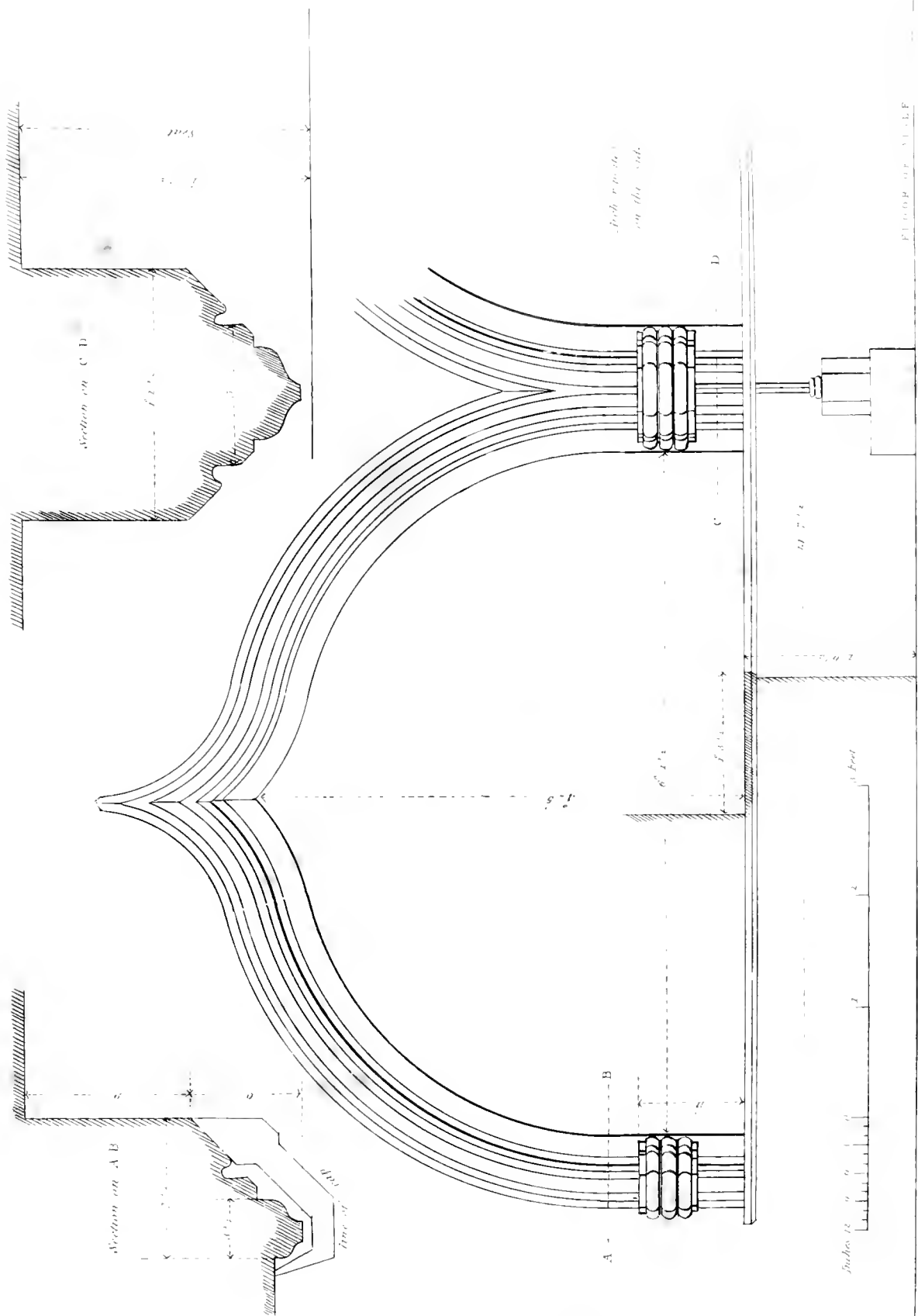
Section on A B

B  
C  
E  
E

Belt A at large



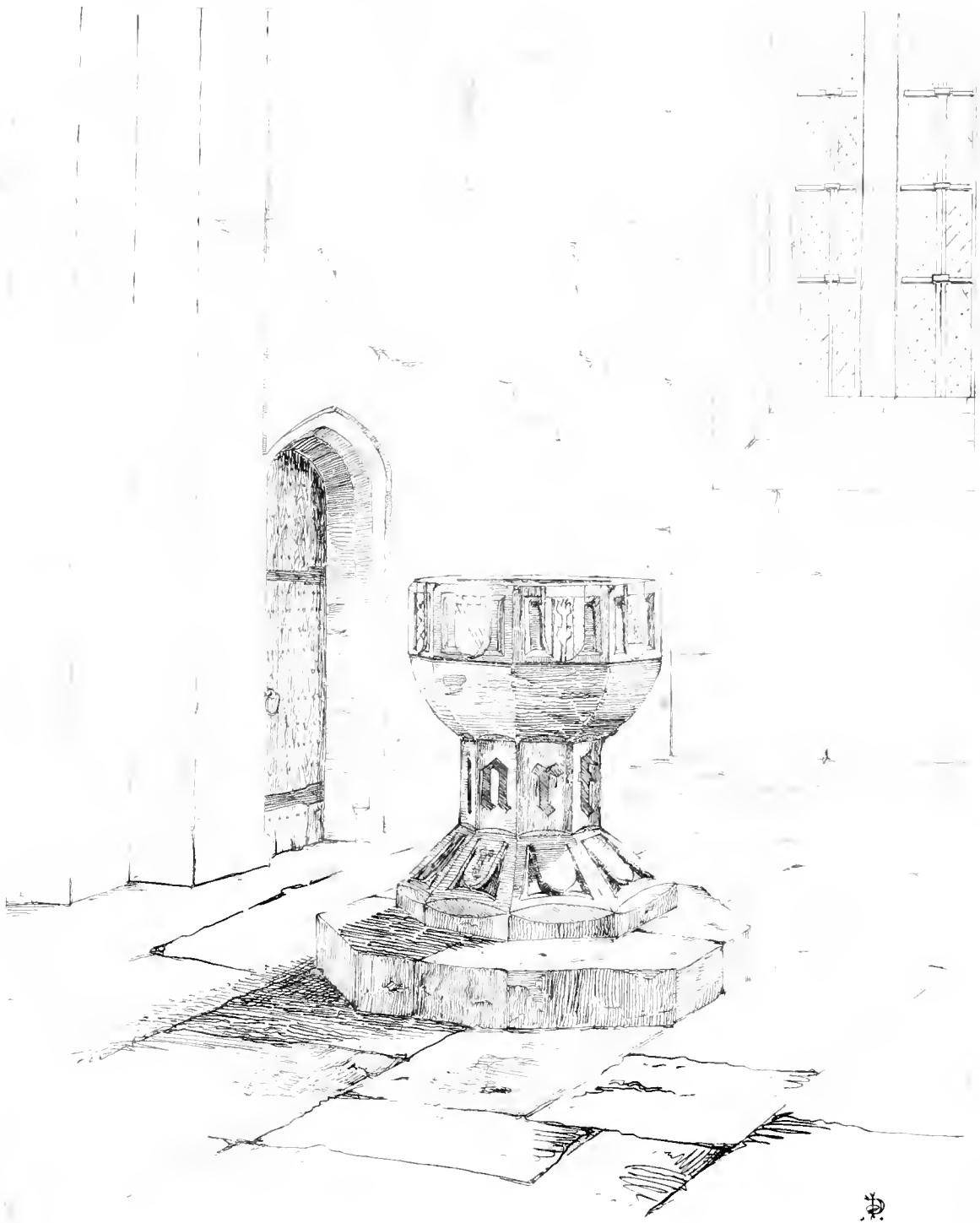




10











10/11/1911

*The Journal of American Studies*, 1970, 4, 1.



Qui iure belli ius Virginiae Angerimus simulatur inusum illam nobis ex quo in agnitione  
Adm. H. 222. 1777. 1778. 1779. 1780. 1781. 1782. 1783. 1784. 1785. 1786. 1787. 1788. 1789. 1790. 1791. 1792. 1793. 1794. 1795. 1796. 1797. 1798. 1799. 1800. 1801. 1802. 1803. 1804. 1805. 1806. 1807. 1808. 1809. 1810. 1811. 1812. 1813. 1814. 1815. 1816. 1817. 1818. 1819. 1820. 1821. 1822. 1823. 1824. 1825. 1826. 1827. 1828. 1829. 1830. 1831. 1832. 1833. 1834. 1835. 1836. 1837. 1838. 1839. 1840. 1841. 1842. 1843. 1844. 1845. 1846. 1847. 1848. 1849. 1850. 1851. 1852. 1853. 1854. 1855. 1856. 1857. 1858. 1859. 1860. 1861. 1862. 1863. 1864. 1865. 1866. 1867. 1868. 1869. 1870. 1871. 1872. 1873. 1874. 1875. 1876. 1877. 1878. 1879. 1880. 1881. 1882. 1883. 1884. 1885. 1886. 1887. 1888. 1889. 1890. 1891. 1892. 1893. 1894. 1895. 1896. 1897. 1898. 1899. 1900. 1901. 1902. 1903. 1904. 1905. 1906. 1907. 1908. 1909. 1910. 1911. 1912. 1913. 1914. 1915. 1916. 1917. 1918. 1919. 1920. 1921. 1922. 1923. 1924. 1925. 1926. 1927. 1928. 1929. 1930. 1931. 1932. 1933. 1934. 1935. 1936. 1937. 1938. 1939. 1940. 1941. 1942. 1943. 1944. 1945. 1946. 1947. 1948. 1949. 1950. 1951. 1952. 1953. 1954. 1955. 1956. 1957. 1958. 1959. 1960. 1961. 1962. 1963. 1964. 1965. 1966. 1967. 1968. 1969. 1970. 1971. 1972. 1973. 1974. 1975. 1976. 1977. 1978. 1979. 1980. 1981. 1982. 1983. 1984. 1985. 1986. 1987. 1988. 1989. 1990. 1991. 1992. 1993. 1994. 1995. 1996. 1997. 1998. 1999. 2000. 2001. 2002. 2003. 2004. 2005. 2006. 2007. 2008. 2009. 2010. 2011. 2012. 2013. 2014. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2021. 2022. 2023. 2024. 2025. 2026. 2027. 2028. 2029. 2030. 2031. 2032. 2033. 2034. 2035. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2040. 2041. 2042. 2043. 2044. 2045. 2046. 2047. 2048. 2049. 2050. 2051. 2052. 2053. 2054. 2055. 2056. 2057. 2058. 2059. 2060. 2061. 2062. 2063. 2064. 2065. 2066. 2067. 2068. 2069. 2070. 2071. 2072. 2073. 2074. 2075. 2076. 2077. 2078. 2079. 2080. 2081. 2082. 2083. 2084. 2085. 2086. 2087. 2088. 2089. 2090. 2091. 2092. 2093. 2094. 2095. 2096. 2097. 2098. 2099. 2100. 2101. 2102. 2103. 2104. 2105. 2106. 2107. 2108. 2109. 2110. 2111. 2112. 2113. 2114. 2115. 2116. 2117. 2118. 2119. 2120. 2121. 2122. 2123. 2124. 2125. 2126. 2127. 2128. 2129. 2130. 2131. 2132. 2133. 2134. 2135. 2136. 2137. 2138. 2139. 2140. 2141. 2142. 2143. 2144. 2145. 2146. 2147. 2148. 2149. 2150. 2151. 2152. 2153. 2154. 2155. 2156. 2157. 2158. 2159. 2160. 2161. 2162. 2163. 2164. 2165. 2166. 2167. 2168. 2169. 2170. 2171. 2172. 2173. 2174. 2175. 2176. 2177. 2178. 2179. 2180. 2181. 2182. 2183. 2184. 2185. 2186. 2187. 2188. 2189. 2190. 2191. 2192. 2193. 2194. 2195. 2196. 2197. 2198. 2199. 2200. 2201. 2202. 2203. 2204. 2205. 2206. 2207. 2208. 2209. 2210. 2211. 2212. 2213. 2214. 2215. 2216. 2217. 2218. 2219. 2220. 2221. 2222. 2223. 2224. 2225. 2226. 2227. 2228. 2229. 2230. 2231. 2232. 2233. 2234. 2235. 2236. 2237. 2238. 2239. 2240. 2241. 2242. 2243. 2244. 2245. 2246. 2247. 2248. 2249. 2250. 2251. 2252. 2253. 2254. 2255. 2256. 2257. 2258. 2259. 2260. 2261. 2262. 2263. 2264. 2265. 2266. 2267. 2268. 2269. 2270. 2271. 2272. 2273. 2274. 2275. 2276. 2277. 2278. 2279. 2280. 2281. 2282. 2283. 2284. 2285. 2286. 2287. 2288. 2289. 2290. 2291. 2292. 2293. 2294. 2295. 2296. 2297. 2298. 2299. 2300. 2301. 2302. 2303. 2304. 2305. 2306. 2307. 2308. 2309. 2310. 2311. 2312. 2313. 2314. 2315. 2316. 2317. 2318. 2319. 2320. 2321. 2322. 2323. 2324. 2325. 2326. 2327. 2328. 2329. 2330. 2331. 2332. 2333. 2334. 2335. 2336. 2337. 2338. 2339. 2340. 2341. 2342. 2343. 2344. 2345. 2346. 2347. 2348. 2349. 2350. 2351. 2352. 2353. 2354. 2355. 2356. 2357. 2358. 2359. 2360. 2361. 2362. 2363. 2364. 2365. 2366. 2367. 2368. 2369. 2370. 2371. 2372. 2373. 2374. 2375. 2376. 2377. 2378. 2379. 2380. 2381. 2382. 2383. 2384. 2385. 2386. 2387. 2388. 2389. 2390. 2391. 2392. 2393. 2394. 2395. 2396. 2397. 2398. 2399. 2400. 2401. 2402. 2403. 2404. 2405. 2406. 2407. 2408. 2409. 2410. 2411. 2412. 2413. 2414. 2415. 2416. 2417. 2418. 2419. 2420. 2421. 2422. 2423. 2424. 2425. 2426. 2427. 2428. 2429. 2430. 2431. 2432. 2433. 2434. 2435. 2436. 2437. 2438. 2439. 2440. 2441. 2442. 2443. 2444. 2445. 2446. 2447. 2448. 2449. 2450. 2451. 2452

1870-1871

Imm. + Em.









Special 91-B  
27106

